244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zóf̌ó III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It 244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that 789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing [386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red 824] wood, ba-ayắ; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayắ. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the [823] desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the [833] medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[844 834] 1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayfe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

mentăngan, "bananas of the Whites." Later it was given the name etăt, from the stem a tăt, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Pangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (dŭgŭ III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farms. Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. (abŏ'k), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as tactless if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tĕgĕ III - fruit, etĕ'tăm) are planted. The name is derived from a tĕk, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called etĕ'tam from a tĕbĕ etăm, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus moschatus Roxb. (nia tĕge - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngŏ'bel'mo IV). The name esăh includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engă'ne-esăh), the Polygonacea Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (etŏbŭ'dŏ-es), and the Melastomataceae Dinotis decumbens (P.B.) Trian. (esĭnă-bongŏ'n-b'oyak).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten.
Other cultivated plants are the following.

2. Sexual Life between Maturity and Marriage

After reaching maturity, the girl is called ngɔ̃n III; and the young man nkɔ̃ I; for both there is also the term bandʉ̃ man, plural of ndʉ̃ man = young man or girl at the age of being in love. Thus the name itself shows under what sign the subsequent period of life is lived. Free love in the boldest sense of the word prevails. The girl may give away her favors without inhibition to whom and whenever she desires to do so, and she need only observe the religious rule that prohibits sexual intercourse during the day and the social rule that prohibits intercourse between blood relatives. Otherwise there is no barrier; members of the same age group come together and make thorough use of their freedom. In the initial period after maturity, to be sure, sexual desire is dampened by the moral admonitions of the cults with their proclamation of the sinfulness of sexual intercourse. This sinfulness, combined with physical satiety and psychic revulsion, produces a "moral hangover"; however, such considerations and feelings are soon overcome. As in eating, so in their love life, the Pangwe know no moderation. They empty the cup of joy to the lees. Later on, especially when the Pangwe has acquired several wives, he tends to develop a more business-like attitude towards sexual love, in place of the youthful amours which alternate unsteadily between ungoverned passion and its aftereffects, psychic unease.

In view of this extensive free love, it goes without saying that the virginity of his future wife plays no role in the man's choice. Indeed, the presence of a hymen (ajɔ́debɛ́) is usually scarcely noticed and /294/ to some is totally unknown. Around the age of 15 years it is supposed to be destroyed by boys of the same age.

As for their libidinal drive, the girls are generally not inferior to the boys. However, we may say that for the girls potency alone is as a rule the deciding factor in the choice of a friend. This fact is well expressed in the various dance songs at the Mbale (which, incidentally, were brought to the Fang and Ntum by the sexually loose Jaunde) as, for example, in the following complaint.

Leader of the chorus:

539 Mĭ'nĭnga ya mot ebə́'n, edə́ a va
133 (A) woman and (a) man love affair (1), thereupon he had
836

1. ebə́'n, "pubic region," hence, by extension, "love affair, relationship."

kĕ, a kĕ a bə̌mo ba mĭ'nĭnga
gone (to her), he goes to sleep with (the) woman (on)

enə̌́n, a sɨ̄ a nie kaa ngū edə́
bed, he cohabits with her, no virility, thereupon (a)

mə́t a va ke, a nga jɨ̄g'
man (that is, another) he had gone, he lived to sing (the)

dʒā́: mĭ'nĭnga niĕne: o kĭnĭ
song (2): (The) woman she (speaks) thus (to me): you go

2. Poetic license, because the manner of recital is song; ordinarily it would be: Thereupon a man said the following.

a kɨ̄da nā: kaa bĕdĕ a sə́', kaa
to say this (to the lover): Not again (to) come, not

bede a ɨ̄ū, a sɨ̄ dʒɨ̄́ medə́'n, aɨ̄ū'
again (to) come, one not complete sex act, night

a ngɛ́n ojā'b --ma nga tame
it was still long (lasting) (3) -- I live must (to)

3. That is, the lover would have had enough time to cohabit several times.

539 tə̀bə̌ nale, adzə̀ a n'abə̌
833 remain thus, affair it is bad.
836

Chorus:

A ta ma vī or a na ma vī.
Oh, my father, I am dying, Oh, my mother, I am dying (4).

[195]

4. The Negro dies on every occasion when something unpleasant happens to him; the chorus thus speaks from the point of view of the woman who is in such despair concerning this "bad affair" that she would almost like to die.

836 Although there are no actual prostitutes, a number of the
548 women enjoy the free life of a girl and up to the age of 30 or 35 years remain ngə̀n, "girls." This kind of "girl," to whom every man, boy or adult, whatever his name, whether he is handsome or not, is equally /255/ welcome, is called a ñzīla. The fact that people have no better opinion of her than we have of a loose woman is shown by a song sung at a festival for the
[539] souls. In its own way this song represents a delightful satire and, for the Pangwe, an extraordinarily witty, poetic achievement. I have reproduced it in Section 20 ("Music") /Ed., not translated/.

In spite of the great sensuality, relations between the sexes
831 do have finer traits; tactful behavior, precise observation of prescribed forms, and profound spiritual sensibility are not absent. The ingenuous conduct of the young man toward the girl's parents and the naturalness with which the young people enjoy their love, without obligations, without social prejudices, have something almost ideal about them.

832 824 Pax, burns; a-ndu-ń a ndźik = Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (oki m e ntágán), root eaten: Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abé).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (ottom), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticaceae (sá[s] ndźik).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (eyón e ndźik), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asóm) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiaceae (oli fam = men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiaceae (elók[k] a tón), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

832 825 Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

833 279 The medicines for impotence (bilá a yé or bilá eyé) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the person concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Coryanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin." The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
825 of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkŏn e ngŏ̄, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Coryanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfĭ I, mfĭ̄ I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejŏm, supposedly from a jŏme nkŏn, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejŏm is the same as in mnŏm, plural bonŏm = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejŏm for (e) the man; manŏm, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of bĭĭ̄ ejŏ̄, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etĭ̄n) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
659 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

171 Moral /Anthropophyteia, Yearbooks for Folkloristic Inquiries and Explorations into the Historical Development of Sexual Morality/, edited by Dr. Friedrich S. Kraus (1912), Vol. 9, p. 31.

833 777 Over against the great mass of women, the bebŏbăn, who through sexual intercourse bring the man misfortune, there is the exceptional phenomenon of the woman who among the Ntum is called ayŏ̆ III and among the Fang ayă̆. Union with her brings both parties, the woman as well as the man, good fortune. At the same time her influence is more important for the man, for instance, during military and hunting expeditions. If, for instance, the man goes hunting on the day after having had intercourse with such a woman, he is bound to see a wild animal soon and to kill it. If he goes to war, "his rifle will hit its mark," whereas the enemy's will not. For this eventuality, moreover, he has the woman give him a medicine, namely red wood that she has ground in a certain way (bă-ayă̆, mfumu-bă). The woman, too, is lucky on this day if she goes "hunting" for fish, that is, if she goes on a fish drive (a lĭĭk), or works on the farm (see Vol. I, p. 56).

But -- as was said -- such women who bring good fortune are a rarity: the majority of women bring misfortune. If a man goes hunting on the day after coition, all the animals evade him in a wide arc (a bă̆ŏ), hence the name ebŏbăn.

[833] 715 884 831 In the peculiar custom of the mĭĭk consecration I see proof of the fact that the Pangwe know the harmful effect of excessive sexual intercourse. The word mĭĭk actually means the castrated animal, in particular the buck goat (see Vol. I, p. 76), and here it is applied symbolically to a person who through a public and solemn declaration is for a time excluded from sexual intercourse. After a successfully concluded war, more rarely upon some other occasion, somebody (usually the chief) decides to consecrate his son or his daughter to purity. Naturally, neither of the latter may as yet be acquainted with sexual matters, in other words, they will only be

785 554 831 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding; then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 785 [194] The custom of milk consecration was formerly practiced throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom [171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

765 789 556 831 [824] The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofôs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon [824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tége III, from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child [833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon [825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink." It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [855] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwĕ abŭm, a klŏ'e abŭm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tŭm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edŭm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adĭă b, kernel = ngŏŏn-ebŭn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

We have not been able to learn anything about the ceremonies of protection against the bivur. However, Akam Eyene told us that when a member of the buiti has inadvertently eaten the flesh of his protecting animal, which is absolutely forbidden, he holds a meeting called dzimba in the course of which the wrongdoer, after dancing, presents his case. Then the [77] head of the buiti absolves him, spitting scrapings of the bark of the ovàn onto his head.

The buiti has a secret language. Akam Eyene gave us only the secret names of certain of its initiates, which correspond to the animals chosen as protectors:

He himself	called	ndzikwe	chimpanzee
Ondo Ngema	—	ngil[illegible]ongo	gorilla
Akum Eyene	—	esingi	tiger cat
Ngema Eyene	—	mitumbu	panther
Bekeka Yebe	—	mogabene	elephant
Angwe Nseme	—	menyanga	snake
Mba Minkwe	—	meyasamba	rooster
Kumeyeme	—	mepeku	eagle
Abaga	—	ndzobe	wildcat

V. Totemism. Despite all questions which we have put to many natives of various tribes, we have not been able to find any signs of totemism. We were only told of instances of individual unions with animals, as in the buiti or following an akaja.

Family and Collective Life

In this chapter we will examine the life of the individual in the family and in the social group, from his conception until his death, incorporating into this framework the family and tribal organization as well as relations with strangers.

Conception (menoò bum). A woman, we have been told by our male and female informants, cannot conceive until after she has menstruated four times. She is, in fact, forbidden to have sexual intercourse before her fourth period. At her first menses, the woman tells her mother or her mother-in-law if she is married (usually her mother-in-law, since there is hardly even a young girl, still with her family, without a husband); the latter henceforth supervises her more

meticulously and in due time gives her permission to have relations with her husband. The first relations must take place on the day following the end of the menstrual period so that the not yet completely dried blood in the organs of the woman can mix with the sperm of the man and make a kind of paste called nsĭe a mon (lizard of a child), which goes back up into the womb of the woman and there develops [78] and becomes the child. If the woman has relations with a man before the prescribed time, she will definitely become sterile.

Sterility, for which many causes are recognized, can be treated, except in the case noted above, in case of bad conduct, and in case of voluntary abortion in the course of a first pregnancy. In order to abort, the woman finds a midwife (ngah minanga) who sends her out to look for the bark of the afamega vine and the tum tree, which she crushes and with which she makes an infusion. The woman goes to the brush and takes four irrigations of this infusion, and that is enough to induce abortion.

On the other hand, the woman who wishes to have children may be barren for several reasons:

(1) She may have aborted naturally and without desiring it. An abortion is recognized as having a natural cause, that is, without malignant external intervention, in that the patient recovers three or four days after the accident and without having suffered too much. In this case the midwife gives the invalid a prohibition called awes which restrains her from going near any man other than her husband. She may not say a word to a man except through the mediation of another woman who acts as interpreter; she may not give anything to a man without this intermediary, and may not sit where a man has sat; and for this last reason she always carries a little seat with her. This prohibition must be observed for two or three months, after which the woman is again allowed to have relations with her husband. If at the end of three more months she is still not pregnant, the midwife then gives her a treatment which consists in having the patient take some soup (abura) made of pumpkin (ngon) ground on a stone and mixed with herbs (mia mi nyo, oyah) gathered and chopped by the midwife. These she cooks with salt and pimento in a pot at the bottom of which has been placed a copper ring (hon ango), covered by a large leaf during the cooking.

When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to our knowledge, among the Fan.

Prostitution does not exist.

Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage" —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing. He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are bôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturalization. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môô (i.e., "conceived in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe, may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be lifted by a collective purificatory rite (éfye, fyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly. There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and working in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbiale binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": laŋ̃ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan